3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4. 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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847 and the medicine woman made the decision. If it was determined that the child was unfit to live, it was left out on the plains. If the tribe was on the move, it was left near the camp site; otherwise, it was carried a distance from camp and left to die. Well-informed observers claim that they never saw an idiot or congenitally deformed
●854 Comanche in the early days.[2]

During its first days the child lay swaddled in robes in its mother's lying-in hut where it received constant attention. Soon after the mother left the hut to resume her daily round of tasks, the baby was put in its day cradle, or "papoose board," so that it could be stood out of harm's way or, if the mother was out gathering seeds or roots or on the march with the camp, it could easily be carried along on her back.

The cradle-board was either a sort of basket made of rawhide fastened to a flat, angular board or a soft buckskin sheath that laced up the front and was anchored to a back board. In cold weather the baby was wrapped in his cradle in blankets with a small opening left for breathing and for the dark, gleaming eyes. Getting babies in and out of their tight cradles to keep them dry would have been a great nuisance. The Comanches met this problem by bringing the little boy's penis out through an opening in the lashings and by providing a draining tube between the legs for a girl. Soft, dry moss was used to catch their excrement. Even so, the babies got wet and messy, but it was their lot to put up with it until they were transferred to the night cradle. Then they were washed, greased, and powdered—the powder consisting of pulverized dry rot of cottonwood. This soothing operation was done tenderfully and carefully. Bodily physical contact was thus restricted during the early months of life, and muscular activity almost wholly so. Such restriction was on a twenty-four-hour basis at first, for at night the young infant was rolled up in a stiff rawhide tube so that it could sleep on the robe between its parents without danger of being smothered if its fat mother rolled over on it. In this setting it enjoyed a snug, if not luscious, protective intimacy with both parents that was generative of strong security feelings.

Nine or ten months passed before the child was allowed out of the

[2] Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 167; Babb, *op. cit.*, 140, 142.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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cradle for any length of time and could experience the exploratory pleasures of crawling about. From this time on, when the child was not on the board or scrambling about on the ground, it was carried on its mother's back.

A child on its mother's back seemed perfectly comfortable and at home. It ate when the mother passed food to it over her shoulder, surveyed the new, curious surroundings, or slept as its mother moved. When moving camp or when traveling, mothers carried the babies on their backs, or sometimes they hung the boards on saddles or travois poles. As a child became too large to be carried by an overworked woman, it was generally placed on travois poles pulled by a steady old pack horse. In this manner children were usually carried until they were old enough to ride upon a pack or a horse—lashed to the saddle or held in place before the mother.

The Comanches had no surnames. At first, children were likely to be called only by pet names. Formal or real names were always bestowed, but there was no set time for doing so. Personal names were not distinctive of sex. The father might name his child, but more commonly he invited a person of distinction to do so. A child named by a medicine man or a medicine woman was supposed to have a longer and more useful life. The naming took place in a public ceremony, which was considered better performed inside a tipi. The medicine man lighted his pipe with a coal from the fire, and blowing puffs of smoke to heaven, earth, and the four directions, offered a prayer for the welfare of the child. When the prayer was finished, he lifted the child aloft to symbolize the wish that it would grow up, and addressing the parents and others present, said, "His [her] name is going to be ———." It was customary to lift the child four times, a little higher each time. The godfather was either compensated on the spot or told that the child would give him something later. If the child proved sickly, it would usually be given a new name, for the Comanches believed that names were closely associated with individual constitutions and that a sickly or puny child could be made strong with a strong name memorializing the great deed of a brave warrior. He Runs Directly Against The Enemy was a sickly infant who was taken to a famous warrior for a new name. It cured him, according to Greyfoot. A name commemorating a false deed was

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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the father. It might be named after its grandfather, uncle, or some other near relative. The person for whom the child, boy or girl, was named was expected to contribute a gift to his or her namesake. A good name was always chosen, though the child might be called by a nickname in common parlance. 551

Nicknames were obtained in the most haphazard way and might change at the will of associates. Greyfoot was called so because a woman got her feet covered with gray clay while crossing a creek. Even the most noted warriors were sometimes unable to control the disposition to nickname. Any unusual physical aspect or peculiar trait of character was almost certain to be seized upon. Thus Face Wrinkles Like an Old Man is an appropriate appellation for one informant. Frequently a nickname was given not because of the prospective bearer's idiosyncrasies, but after the behavior of his parental kinfolk. Such a name a boy retained until he had made a successful journey to war, a plundering expedition, or a hunt, when he received another name selected by himself or by a close friend as evidence of his newly won status as a man. Girls, however, did not regularly change their names at puberty.

Girls were unlikely to be named after the relatives of the mother, but rather after a relative of the father. Names thus remained in the family. The mother generally selected the name, which might be in commemoration of something she thought worthy. Girls, like boys, were called by nicknames. Married women did not take the names of their husbands, nor was there any equivalent of "Miss" or "Mrs." to indicate whether a woman was married or single. The name of a dead person was avoided and was not spoken in the presence of relatives for a long time, usually several years, other words conveying the same idea being substituted.

The training of children consisted almost entirely of precept, advice, and counsel. A baby soon learned that he would not have his whims gratified by crying. He was told to do, or warned to refrain from doing, certain things, not because they were right or wrong, but because they were to his advantage or disadvantage. He was taught that he would benefit by acting in a certain way. His pride and ambition were appealed to, and worthy examples among living men in the tribe were pointed out for emulation. Of abstract principles of 854●

The Comanches

854 right or wrong, as we understand them, the Comanches knew little or nothing. The approach to life was pragmatic. The child was not coaxed toward good with the hope of Heaven as a reward or frightened from evil by the fear of Hell as a punishment. Instead, he was shown by word and example that the respect and approbation of his fellow tribesmen were to be desired, and their condemnation and contempt were to be dreaded and avoided. He saw that the men who were brave and generous were applauded and respected. In Comanche
854 society it was impossible to live a secluded life. The members were
626 aware of the conduct of each person. Each was eager for the approval of his fellows and greedy for their praise, and public opinion promised the reward he hoped for and threatened the punishment he feared—lack of esteem among The People. This was their method of control.

861 The Comanches did not whip or otherwise bodily punish their children but directed them by persuasion and object lessons. However, they were, at times, frightened by threats. Breaks Something, when a small boy, annoyed his mother by whining for some mush she was making. She called in an elder classificatory sister, who simply dragged him into the tipi with a rawhide strap around his neck and threatened to hang him to the top of the tipi if he was not good. "I was really scared."

Discipline within the family usually devolved on an older sister—real or, preferably, putative—and youngsters really resented their bossiness. The Comanches knew nothing about Freud and his theory of the Oedipus complex, but they did know that parental dominance breeds resentment, and so, like most American Indians, when forceful discipline was called for, they turned the job over to a relative outside of the immediate conjugal family or to an imaginary bogeyman.

Old people covered their heads with a sheet to give a ghost scare to bad little boys and girls, and all youngsters had the fear put into them of *piam3mpits,* Big Cannibal Owl, the mythological creature who lived in a cave on the south side of the Wichita Mountains and ate bad children at night.

857 As soon as she was large enough to walk, the girl followed her mother everywhere about the camp. She imitated her in all things,

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Sanapia's mother, 1909.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Charcoal from a Peyote Drum

756 755 778 534 Before the drumhead is attached to the drum used in the ceremonies of the Native American Church, the drum body is filled approximately one-third full with water. Several small pieces of charcoal from any source immediately available are placed in the water, and the head is then attached. The charcoal and water play important parts in the morning rituals held at the close of Comanche peyote meetings. Both the water and the charcoal are considered blessed by their presence in the meeting and are thought to possess certain sacred qualities. Because of the power which Sanapia feels pervades the charcoal from the peyote drum, she considers this charcoal desirable as a medicine.

The charcoal from the drum is given to Sanapia after peyote meetings which have been held on her property. She uses these fragments in several ways. To contain the movement or spread of any kind of pain or to prohibit the spread of swelling caused by such conditions as snakebite or sprains, she encloses the afflicted area in a circle drawn on the patient's skin with this charcoal. Also, in doctoring a particularly difficult case, she sometimes rubs this charcoal on her palms to supplement her power.

White Otter Fur

756 755 237 854 [177] Sanapia learned the use of a type of fur, which she states comes from a white otter, as a medicine from a Shoshone woman during one of her visits to the Wind River Shoshone communities around Fort Washakie, Wyoming. This is specificically used to treat illnesses in infants, which are felt to be localized in the infant's head. Sanapia cuts a small square from this pelt and places it on live coals. As the smoke rises from this smoldering fur, she holds the infant over the coals and moves him through the rising smoke four times. This medicine smoke is believed to enter the infant's head, where it's curative qualities work their effects. An Arapaho-Comanche uncle of Sanapia states that weasel tails are also used in this manner by the Comanches.

Porcupine Quills

Porcupine quills are used in the treatment of children in much the same manner as white fur. Four of the quills are deposited on coals. The infant is then passed through the rising smoke four times. Sanapia states:

> Sometimes they say kids get lonesome . . . when they sick, they just lonesome. Those stickers are good for that. They have medicine to help little children when I use them.

Bone Medicine

756 755 237 Sanapia calls this medicine *piamupits*, which she translates as "big old giant." She also refers to it as *tsunbip*, a Comanche word for "bone." Wallace and Hoebel (1952:171) write concerning this medicine:

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Ghost Sickness and Witch Sickness

Sanapia's great success in curing ghost-sickness victims appears to give further support to the idea of the psychogenesis of ghost sickness. Then again, she would also be attributed with success in curing a transient unilateral facial paralysis of an organic genesis which ran its course during the time of treatment or within a suitable time span after treatment. Of course, they both support the same conclusion to the Comanches: Sanapia can cure ghost sickness. However, if Sanapia is successful in curing ghost sickness, why does she enjoy a relative lack of success in curing the victims of witchcraft when the symptomatic manifestations of the two are practically identical? Once again, as in the discussion of ghost sickness, a valuable clue is suggested by looking at standardization in the age and sex of the victims of the witch. The institution of witchcraft will be more thoroughly surveyed in Chapter 5. It seems most appropriate that the etiology of witchcraft symptoms should be discussed at this juncture since we are approaching the question of Sanapia's cultural function as curer of afflictions believed by the Comanches to be magically or supernaturally instigated.

The overwhelming majority of Comanche witch victims are infants, rarely more than several years of age. Therefore, we must base our attempt at explanation of the symptoms of witch sickness on an organic disorder which corresponds to the symptoms displayed by the witched victim. The medical literature presents an account of a disorder which corresponds in type to the symptoms present in ghost sickness and witch sickness, but which is limited, with rare exceptions, to infants less than two years of age. This neuromuscular disorder, tetany, also exhibits two symptoms by which Sanapia conceptually differentiates between witch sickness and ghost sickness by the degree of their severity. Sanapia points out that though witch- and ghost-sickness victims demonstrate similar modes of contortion, the witch victim's contortions appear most often in spasmodic fashion, while this trait is less marked in ghost sickness. Also, the peculiar contractions of the hands and arms, described in discussing ghost sickness, are more prevalent in cases of witch sickness. Further, two major causes of tetany in infants result from inadequate calcium intake and vitamin D deficiency, dietary lacks which could easily occur in the relatively poor environment in which many Comanche infants are reared.

Aub (1951:1275) mentions that signs of tetany will result from alkalosis of various origins, such as hyperventilation. The relationship of the emotion of fear to hyperventilation is noteworthy. Although the infant does not understand that he is the target of the witch, his parents do. Perhaps the parents' increased anxiety over the symptoms of tetany, which they could associate with witchcraft, only acts to increase anxiety in the infant, thus more readily acting to increase the possibility of hyperventilation. It is a common observation that the emotional state of parents can affect the emotional state of their infant children.

Because of the suggested differences in etiology of ghost sickness and witch sickness, Sanapia's success with ghost sickness and relative lack of success in curing witch sickness is understandable. She can relieve some of the symptoms of

31: Jones E-S (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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754 witch sickness through her ability to ease the anxiety of the parents and therefore
854 decrease the anxiety which is communicated to the child. However, Sanapia can-
164 not alleviate certain factors, perhaps of an environmental nature, which have
756 caused tetany. It is also significant that with witch victims, because of their age, Sanapia is unable to communicate. In discussing the actual treatment of ghost sickness, it was seen that psychotherapeutic traits in her behavior toward her patient are ubiquitous.

Sanapia, Ghosts, and Ghost Sickness

754 A great amount of time has been spent in discussing ghosts, ghost sick-
775 ness, and the suggested causes of ghost sickness because of this complex's close
164 association to Sanapia's role in Comanche society. As an eagle doctor, Sanapia's
755 special thaumaturgic power is believed to be her ability to counteract or defeat the ghost's malevolent influences on living men. Because of the nature of the symptoms associated with ghost sickness and because of their probable psychogenic etiology, she is almost always successful in treating the victim of the ghost. If the affliction which her patient possesses is an organically based transient unilateral facial paralysis, it will disappear of its own accord when it runs its course; and if the disorder is hysterically induced, the patient actually cures himself, while Sanapia more or less functions as a symbol to the patient that the time for his cure is at hand. Of course, the psychotherapeutic value of her method of curing cannot be minimized, and perhaps it could be said that the emotional state which she induces in her hysterical patient functions as a trigger for his self-healing.

756 Sanapia's most important overt function in contemporary Comanche society
775 is as a symbol of the Comanche's ability to withstand the attacks of the ghosts.
154 She also serves as the necessary key to the psychological reintegration of marginal Comanches who have "employed" the ghost-sickness conversion reaction. As long as Sanapia, or other eagle doctors, stand as a source of cure, Comanche individuals can contract ghost sickness as a means of relieving certain intolerable emotional states. This could also serve to explain the longevity of the institution of the Comanche eagle doctor, while the other kinds of Comanche native doctors have
756 long since ceased to exist. The human disorder associated with the eagle doctor's
177 particular brand of specialization, ghost sickness, has only increased with the
775 acculturation of the Comanche people, while the specialties of the other varieties
164 of Comanche doctors have been usurped during this same process. It is ironic that acculturation, while actively corroding the overall complexion of traditional Comanche culture, has also served to revive and augment the important function of a symbol of traditional Comanche culture, the Medicine woman.

31: Jones E-S (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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754 756 Bible for her response and for material to construct what she felt would be her evasion of the point of the question. This is an example of the manner in which Sanapia has organized elements and sentiments of the three supernaturalistic systems which affect her life into a supportive and cohesive whole. The following quotation is standard of her manner of responding to the many questions which were directed to her concerning her potential to execute witchcraft. It should be noted that in the example given, she indirectly admits to a belief that she is at least capable of witchcraft. This also was a recurring element in all her responses to questions on this subject.

> I don't think about it much, because the Bible tells me not to kill. I'll be punished if I die. God's going to do that to me. You can't steal too. Can't steal from nobody. That's what I learn in the Bible. Don't steal from nobody. Stealing is bad and people could get in trouble for it. [Proceeds to tell a story about a thief.]

Sanapia is, however, quite knowledgeable as to *a* Comanche method of witchcraft, a method which, in my opinion, is strictly the province of the eagle doctor. A few years before the death of the Medicine woman previously mentioned, she was invited to live with Sanapia. This fact is still very present in the minds of some Comanches who continue to allude to this when they are discussing the fear which Sanapia arouses in some of her people. Sanapia states that doctors have a special obligatory bond which motivated her to offer assistance to the older woman who, at the time, was experiencing economic and health difficulties. She does admit that during this time she learned very much about witchcraft from the older doctor, who was also an eagle doctor.

Reasons for the Use of Witchcraft

754 756 828 There are, of course, a variety of reasons why a *puhakut* would resort to witchcraft. The most common reason in Sanapia's opinion is jealousy, although a Medicine practitioner can also be commissioned to use his powers and knowledge of witching ritual for evil. There is also the instance in which a Medicine man is told in a dream that he will be able to save the life of his patient if he first takes another's life. Sanapia states that the latter two instances are rare in modern times and that most witchcraft victims whom she has doctored have been witched because they, or more likely their parents, inspired jealousy in certain old people who possessed *puha* and who knew how to witch. It is significant that in the several accounts of witching which Sanapia has reported, she always laid the blame for the act on old people and in almost every case on old women. It is also relevant to note that five of the six accounts which Sanapia has supplied concerning victims of witchcraft which she has doctored have been infants of less than two years of age. Sanapia, however, insists that anyone of any age can be the victim of the witch. When questioned concerning the high rate of infants as witchcraft victims, she replied that some old women whose children have left them

[854 144]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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must stay completely apart from the Comanche women and girls." He explained it this way. Comanche women are supposed to have no communications, other than the most necessary, with menfolks other than their own, and this applied with extra force to white men. Comanche men held their women to strict account as to their conduct, and a white man could cause a Comanche woman serious trouble, unawares, should he try to be friendly. I lived up to this rule in every respect. Then, in addition, I naturally extended to all Indian women and girls every courtesy I had been taught to extend to women of my own race. This, too, could have had some bearing.

I could not help but notice Mo-cho-rook. He was a standout in every way. To start with, he was obviously the oldest of the old Indians. He was noticeably smaller than any of the other Indian men. And what was even more obvious, he had at this time only one wife. And of all the old fellows, he had by far the youngest wife and the youngest child. He was completely antisocial. I not only never gleaned a smile, but I never even drew a grunt from him, in the five plus years that I knew him.

On the top of all this, he had about the meanest look, and the cruelest eyes, I have ever seen on a human. I was later to know Geronimo, who was being held as a prisoner of war at Fort Sill. If anyone could have run Mo-cho-rook even a close second for looking mean and cruel, it would have been Geronimo.

The only time he ever came inside the store was when he needed smoking tobacco. He would have his nickel ready in his hand, would point to the Bull Durham, and when I handed him the tobacco, he would hand me the nickel. My fattest smile never brought a change in his expression. Once he had his tobacco, he would return outside. I never knew him to stay in out of even the most inclement weather.

I soon sorted out his wife. She was a young, large-limbed girl, with the true Comanche copper color. She had a baby boy, around a year old. He was old enough to be out of the cradle board, but that first summer he was not walking as yet. He was a healthy-looking little chap and, like all Indian babies, well behaved. I was later to learn that this child was the only one ever born to Mo-cho-rook by any of the numerous wives he had had. His squaw nearly always stayed in our store until they were ready to go home, and she bought all their supplies. He was one of the few Indians who never found it necessary to run an account until Grass Money time.